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SPAIN IN THE WEST

A SERIES OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FROM FOREIGN ARCHIVES

VOLUME III

Earliest Print of Kino's Map of Pimeria Alta, 1705

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Chapter III. We set out from San Marzelo, and after a sixty Leagues' Journey we arrive at the Yumas, and at San Dionicio at the Confluence of the Rio Grande de Hila and the large Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte.

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Chapter VI. Having seen the Land Passage to California, we turn back for Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. They give us Infants to baptize, and we arrive in Safety at San Marzelo.

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Chapter I. Doubts and Controversies which for so many Years have existed in regard to whether California is

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lores (Our Lady of Sorrows), at the Indian village of Cosari. The site chosen was one of peculiar fitness and beauty. It is a commonplace to say that the missionaries always selected the most fertile spots for their missions. This is true, but it is more instructive to give the reason. They ordinarily founded their missions at or near the villages of the Indians for whom they were designed, and these were usually placed at the most fertile spots along the rich valleys of the streams. And so it was with the village of Cosari.

Near where Cosari stood, the little San Miguel breaks through a narrow cañon, whose walls rise several hundred feet in height. Above and below the cañon, the river valley broadens out into rich *vegas* of irrigable bottom lands, half a mile or more in width and several miles in length. On the east, the valley is walled in by the Sierra de Santa Teresa, on the west by the Sierra del Torreón. Closing the lower valley and hiding Cucurpe, stands Cerro Prieto; and cutting off the observer's view toward the north rises the grand and rugged Sierra Azul. At the cañon where the river breaks through, the western mesa juts out and forms a cliff, approachable only from the west.

On this promontory, protected on three sides from attack, and affording a magnificent view, was placed the mission of Dolores. Here still stand its ruins, in full view of the valley above and below, of the mountain walls on the east and the west, the north and the south, and within the sound of the rushing cataract of the San Miguel as it courses through the gorge. This meager ruin on the cliff, consisting now of a mere fragment of an adobe wall and saddening piles of debris, is the most venerable of the many mission remains in all Arizona and northern Sonora, for Our Lady of Sorrows was mother of them all, and for nearly a quarter of a

souls is now so ripe that all the year they come from distances of fifty, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and more leagues, to see me and to ask me to go and baptize them, or to procure for them priests who shall go to assist, care for, and minister to them.

And although these extensive conquests will require about fifty missionary fathers, all with their customary alms or necessary supplies, your Majesty can furnish them, without its causing any new expense to the royal estate, by merely ordering that some amounts which are now being spent by it without securing the ends for which your Royal Majesty intends them, and which are therefore not profitable, be assigned to the said fifty missionary fathers of these new conquests and new conversions, who, God willing, will better achieve both purposes, as I will state in another and separate memorial.

I conclude with what, so much to our purpose and to the purposes of all, our Holy Mother Church says, prays, and sings on the first feast day in May, that of San Felipe and Santiago, namely, *Gentiles Salvatorem videre cupientes ad Philipum accesserunt*,[76] that is, the Gentiles who wished to see the Saviour of the world drew near to Philip. And thus we see and happily experience with the very Catholic, very pious, and most Christian royal *cédula* of your Majesty, that all the innumerable Gentiles of these new conversions and new conquests of this very extensive and formerly unknown North America and Nueva Navarra, etc., in order to see, know, and love the Saviour of the world and to save themselves eternally, draw near to the most pious pro-

[76] "The Gentiles, desiring to see the Savior, came to Philip." Roman Breviary, Lesson iv, Feast of Sts. Philip and James, Apostles. Founded on *John*, xii, 20, 21. Marginal annotation in the original Ms: 1 *Maij. Noct.* 11 *Lect.* 1.

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PART I

NEW SPIRITUAL AND '
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Years from 1687 to 1699

afterward fulfilled to the letter); and that some soldiers should come into this Pimeria, at least as far as Quiburi, to see with their own eyes the good state of affairs and the ripeness of the very plentiful harvest of souls.[184] Having asked when the soldiers were coming to Quiburi, I was told the 7th of November. And the same day I entered also from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, with Captain Juan Matheo Manje.[185] Our intention was to penetrate forty or fifty leagues further inland, down the Rio de Quiburi, to the last Sobaipuris of the northeast and to the Rio de Jila, or Rio Grande, which is the same, for up to that time we had not penetrated so far inland by that route.

CHAPTER VI. GREAT AND PEACEFUL ENTRY OF TWENTY-TWO SOLDIERS TO THE RIO GRANDE AND THE LAST SOBAIPURIS [186]

I arrived at Quiburi with Captain Juan Matheo Manje, my servants, and more than sixty horses and mules, intending to penetrate to the last Sobaipuris. In Quiburi I received a letter from the captain of the soldiers stating that they were on their way, and they arrived on November 9. We found the Pima natives

[184] Credit for suggesting an expedition by soldiers to the interior Pimas is here given to Father Polici. Manje takes the credit to himself. See *Luz de Tierra Incógnita,* libro ii, cap. 5, first paragraph: "y por estinguir yo el mal Concepto, con q nos abrasavan la venida de Evangelicos operarios pa. su Reducíón con Cautela suplique al Genl. mi tio entrase una escuadra de soldados en conpa. del Pr. Kino y mia, a esta descubrimiento" (p. 49).

[185] Kino and Manje left Dolores on November 2, with ten Indian servants, thirty horses, and presents for the Indians. They went *via* Remedios, Cocóspera (where Father Pedro Ruíz de Contreras was stationed) San Lázaro, Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (here they were met by Bernal with the soldiers) and Quiburi where they arrived on the 9th (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita,* libro ii, cap. 15). Bernal in his diary says that he overtook Kino at Quiburi on the ninth. Kino gives circumstantial evidence to show the same thing, but Manje says that Bernal joined them on the seventh at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (Diary, Nov. 7).

[186] The principal authorities for this *entrada,* aside from the present work, are Manje's account in diary form (but with subsequent additions)

while Captain Capotcari selected ten others, the valiant of all he had. Five were Apaches, as was also one of the other five.

They began shooting their arrows, and, as the Pimas are very dexterous in shooting and also in parrying the arrows of their adversaries, and as the Apaches, although dexterous in shooting arrows and with the lance, are not dexterous in parrying the arrows, five Pimas soon wounded the five Apaches who were their antagonists, as did four other Pimas their adversaries, the Hocomes and Xanos. Captain Capotcari was very skillful in catching the arrows, but his opponent, a valiant Pima, grappled with him and, struggling, threw him to the ground and beat his head with stones.[220] Thereupon all the rest of the enemy began to flee, and the Pimas followed them through all those woods and hills for more than four leagues, killing and wounding more than three hundred, of whom fifty-odd[221] remained dead and stretched out nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along

[220] Manje does not tell this remarkable tale, nor, strangely enough, does Kino tell it in his *Breve Relación*, written May 3-October 25, especially to report the event. Kino's account therein of the victory is as follows: "And having conferred mouth to mouth with the principal captain of the hostile Jocomes, called Copotiari (Capotcari), said Copotiari said that Captain Coro and all his Pima men were not men but women; that the Spaniards with whom he had been joined by the *padres* were not brave; that he frequently had killed many of them and of the soldiers likewise. Thereupon the Pimas became so angered that a valiant fellow came up and knocked him down and pounded him, and the rest proceeded with like valor. They pursued their companions more than two leagues, killing them, so that there escaped only six, who were riding as many horses belonging to Cocospera." Jironza tells the story of the individual combat, much as Kino gives it here in the *Favores* (Letter to viceroy, May 16, 1698).

[221] Manje (*Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 66) says that sixty enemies were killed and one hundred sixty-eight died of poisoned arrows. Jironza says that thirty-two men and twenty-two women were killed, and many wounded, all of whom would die, "because of our knowledge of the very strong poison from the herb with which they prepare their arrows."

curious and beautiful blue shells, which, so far as I know, are found only on the opposite or western coast of California. Afterward it occurred to me that not very far distant there must be a passage by land to near-by California; and shortly, by Divine grace, we shall try to find it out and see it with all exactness.[260] Father Adam made while here a vocabulary of the Cocomaricopa language. On taking our leave, February 23, we left messages for them and for those of the sea, to the effect that if the ships or fathers of California should arrive at those their coasts they should receive them with all love and without fear, for they were our brothers and men of very good heart.

Leaving the natives very desirous that we should return, we took our course eastward up the Rio Grande,[261] passing by various rancherías,[262] which we gave the names of the other holy Apostles, San Matias del Tumagoidad (because on this holy day we arrived there), San Mateo, San Simon, San Felipe y Santiago, San

[260] Manje states that he was anxious to go to the Gulf of California, that he had come expressly for this purpose, but that the Indians begged them not to do so, and that the missionaries were afraid that such a step would offend the Cocomaricopas. Manje and the Indian interpreter, Francisco Pintor, rode to a hill and were shown the junction of the Gila and Colorado. The camp was evidently near Dome and above Blaisdell. At this point Manje records that the natives told here of the visit of a white woman whom he thought might be Mother María de Jesus de Ágreda, said to have visited the Indians of New Mexico and Texas, in spirit, earlier in the century. The Indians told of the visit of Oñate over ninety years before.

[261] They started on the twenty-third.

[262] According to Manje, none were seen for thirty leagues. San Matías Tutum was reached at that distance, San Mateo de Cuat at thirty-four leagues. Then followed San Tadeo de Vaqui, San Simón Tucsani, and two unnamed villages (San Felipe and Santiago?). On March 1 the Gila Bend was reached, and the river was left here. Twenty-four leagues east and three from the junction with the Rio Verde they reached a Pima village called San Bartolomé; ten more leagues took them to San Andrés de Coata, visited in 1697. After passing La Encarnación, they left the river (on the fifth) and the Casa Grande. Passing the Algive (tank) made by the ancients, they went *via* San Xavier del Bac to Dolores.

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the four March, having traveled in going and comi three hundred and sixty leagues.[264]

In this entry we learned that on the third (the Sobaipuris of Captain Humaric had dea to the Apaches of the Rio de Hila, killing th of them and taking captive eight little chi whom they brought me five to Nuestra Señc Dolores, where they were baptized. A lit ward came also the very friendly replies to the which in the above-mentioned entry we had s numerous people of the Rio Colorado.[266]

[264] San Xavier del Bac was reached March 7, and left on the night in a storm Father Kino was taken ill, his limbs swelling day, in spite of continued storm, he insisted on traveling, but three leagues he was taken ill with vomiting and again they the eleventh he was better, and they continued to Tumacácori was reached on the twelfth, Cocóspera on the thirteenth, and D fourteenth.

[265] Manje says that six Apaches were killed.

[266] Manje says, at the end of his account of the journey, th well now to investigate whether the rumored quicksilver mines and silves mines of the Sierra Azul, what white people are s Gulf of California, whether Spaniards or strangers, and what it was who had visited the Indians; to explore the "island" o and to ascertain the origin of the Aztecs.

PART II

OF THE CELESTIAL FAVORS OF Jesus, Most Holy Mary, and the Most Glorious Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, experienced in the New Conversions of this North America, or New Philippines, in the Years 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702; and the New Discovery of the Passage by Mainland to California in Thirty-two Degrees of Latitude, by which it is found to be not an Island, but a Peninsula, with very Fertile Lands, with Very Large, Rich, and Populous Rivers, with Many Gentle, Docile, and Friendly New Nations.

BOOK I. OF THE MEASURES, DISPOSITIONS, AND EXPEDITIONS WHICH IN THE YEAR 1699 ARE MADE IN ORDER TO DISCOVER THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I. LETTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL SUPERIORS, AND THE VERY CATHOLIC ROYAL *CÉDULA*, WHICH INSPIRE THE WRITING OF THIS SECOND PART OF THE *CELESTIAL FAVORS*

Having written, by order of our father general, Thyrso Gonzales, the account of the celestial favors, which I have set forth in the First Part, and having sent it from the Real de San Juan to Mexico by Bachelor Don Joseph Moreno that it might be taken to Rome, as it was taken by the father procurators Bernardo Rolandegui and Nicolas de Vera,[324] his Reverence answered me in a letter of December 24, 1701, which I received December 26, 1702, that he had received it and read it with such pleasure that most affectionately he charged me to write this Second Part. At the same time the father provincial, Francisco de Arteaga, also wrote me a very paternal holy letter, with the superscription of the rector[325] of these missions of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, asking me for information in regard to them, to give to our father general. And soon afterward, by the hand of the father visitor,

[324] See *post*, page 375.

[325] *I.e.*, forwarded by the rector.

such importance that if necessary I shall stop here rains, in the accomplishment of this purpose. And s love of God I beg your Reverence to provide supplies, resolved on my part not to turn back for want of t therefore I pray your Reverence to advise me of all, a ticular of what your Reverence has already provided of above mentioned. I return the greetings of your R children, the Californians who come with me, fruits o and zeal of your Reverence.

Thus far the father rector, Juan Maria tierra.

CHAPTER III. THESE HOSTILITIES OF THE ARE ATTRIBUTED, ALTHOUGH VERY FA TO THE PIMAS; AND THE INNOCENC THIS PIMERIA IS CLEARLY SHOWI AND DECLARED

In regard to these above mentioned mu beries, and hostilities, there were so many co and such perverse and hostile opinions that t ships of principal persons of this province paired and broken, many attributing those e always hostile Hojomes, Janos, Sumas, and while others perforce laid them upon the Pi Pimeria, and attested reports, although f made. But our Lord made clear the trutl ways, and forthwith the two following le those who pursued the enemy and took fro great part of the booty which they carried, v indicated it to me. One, dated February 1 Captain Pedro de Peralta, lieutenant of thos and is as follows:

My Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Reward! Reward! The hostile Indians who attacked Saracach return passed by this Real de Bacanuchi and took fro ral of Simon Romo a drove of mares and other beast

we had spoken to them the Word of God they gave us several persons to baptize, but we baptized only one little girl and a very old Indian woman who was probably about one hundred and twenty years of age. The water supply here as well as the pasturage was very short, and it cost us much toil, and the personal labor of both fathers, to deepen the wells to obtain the water that the men and we might drink. After nightfall about forty Indians from the sea came to see us and told us that about here there was nothing but two large tanks of rain-water shut in between the rocks of the large mountain near-by and the ancient volcano of Santa Clara.[380]

19. On the nineteenth we set out for the ranchería and watering-place, or great tank, of El Basoitutgan,[381] where there was good pasture also. We found about one hundred persons, and afterwards many other natives came, some with gifts; and we dispatched some little gifts to the Quiquimas.

20. On the twentieth, Palm Sunday, having said the two masses, with the benediction and distribution of branches (for in honor of this day and yesterday, when we arrived, we called this post San Joseph de Ramos),[382] we set out for the west; and after covering six

to the opinion of the Fathers. He gives the direction as southwest over stony plains, and the distance as ten leagues. They camped in the bed of a dry arroyo called *Sicobuto bavia* (Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 102).

[380] The Santa Clara Mountain was the present Sierra del Pinacate. In 1909-1910 Lumholtz made three trips from Quitovaquita and Carrizal to the district, over almost precisely the three routes opened by Kino, whose explorations in that region were unfortunately unknown to him. Most of the places mentioned by Kino can be identified by Lumholtz's excellent descriptions and map (*op. cit.*, chaps. 13-14).

[381] Manje gives this as Basotucan and gives the distance as eight leagues. The water was in two tanks where the horses drank, after twenty-four hours without it. The village was south of the Santa Clara mountain. Manje gives the number as fifty persons. See Tinaja del Cuervo, on Lumholtz's map. Salvatierra calls this place Ayodsudao, and the previous one Totonat.

[382] Ramos means "palms" or "branches." Domingo de Ramos is Palm Sunday.

covering a land route to California, has been accomplished. This news has been a source of very great pleasure to me; and therefore I shall appreciate it if your Reverence will inform me if it is true. I shall set out day after tomorrow from this valley, and I shall go by way of Cocospora,[406] with God's favor, toward Bacanuche, and so if anything occurs to your Reverence in which I can serve you, you may command me with the certainty of my good will. All the citizens and companions who come with me salute your Reverence and the very Reverend Father Juan Maria very heartily, and all greatly rejoice at the successful journey of your Reverence, in particular Captain Simon Rodrigues Soto and Captain Recalde, who also are with me in this valley and pueblo of Guebavi. But in order not to trouble your Reverence I say no more, nor do I enlarge on everything as I should wish. I set out with the citizens to follow after and to aid the Pimas, but as I could not arrive in time to fight with them against the Apaches, from Quiburi I returned to this valley to see and to speak with these natives, with whom I have been much pleased. All the natives salute your Reverence, and in particular the governor of the ranch, Eusevio, who said to me after this was closed that I should salute your Reverence and advise you that all are returning safe from their journey.[407]

Thus far General Ysidro Ruis de Abechuco. And

[406] From Manje we learn that Ruíz de Abechuco, with his twenty men, overtook Kino and Salvatierra at Cocóspera (Manje, *Lux de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110).

[407] Manje's last journey with the missionaries was the one made with Kino and Salvatierra. In the nine (I find only eight) recounted in his itineraries he and the fathers had travelled three thousand leagues, not counting four campaigns against the Indians, and others to the Pimería for other purposes. They had listed of the Pimas alone twelve thousand souls, and two thousand Yuma men corresponding to as many families. They had baptized in these pueblos seven hundred. In these seven years the Pimas killed six hundred and eighty enemies, not to count the captured children (*Lux de Tierra Incógnita*, libro ii, 110-112).

Add to this the campaigns made by the fifty soldiers of the Compañía Volante in the first seven years during which Jironza founded and ruled it. More than thirty are noted in the book, autos of which were sent to the officials; not to mention monthly journeys to explore the frontiers and passes, recover stolen goods, or convoy merchant trains or passengers (*ibid.*, 112).

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